

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ONY-00 SS-15 SSO-00 /026 W

-----114601 281817Z /41

O 281645Z JUN 77

FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6319

INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BUJUMBURA 0741

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SHUM, BY

SUBJECT: COUNTRY EVALUATION PLAN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

REF: STATE 139160

A. CONDITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN BURUNDI - GENERAL. LIKE ALMOST ALL AFRICAN COUNTRIES, BURUNDI HAS NO TRADITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN A WESTERN SENSE. ALTHOUGH ITS TINY ELITE GROUP IS INTELLECTUALLY AWARE OF THE TERM, CONCEPTS OF PERSONAL, CIVIL, AND POLITICAL FREEDOMS AND RIGHTS DO NOT RPT NOT COME EASILY TO A SOCIETY WHERE CUSTOMARY RULES AND PRACTICES REGULATE THE POSITION OF EACH INDIVIDUAL WITHIN A SMALLER OR LARGER COLLECTIVITY - FAMILY, CLAN, AND REGION - IN AN AUTHORITARIAN HIERARCHICAL PATTERN. IN BURUNDI, THESE USUAL AFRICAN CIRCUMSTANCES ARE OVERLAID BY A UNIQUE PROBLEM OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THE MAJORITY (85 PERCENT) HUTU ETHNIC GROUP AND THE MINORITY (14 PERCENT) TUTSI GROUP, WHICH DOMINATES THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE NATION. WHILE THERE ARE NO LINGUISTIC OR CULTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THESE TWO ETHNIC ELEMENTS, THERE ARE ANCIENT SOCIAL GAPS WHICH HAVE CERTAIN ASPECTS OF A CLASS STRUGGLE TO THE FIGHT FOR NATIONAL PREDOMINANCE.

ONCE NEIGHBORING RWANDA, WITH SIMILAR ETHNIC MAKEUP, WENT
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THROUGH AN UPHEAVAL FROM 1959 TO 1963, WHICH BROUGHT THE HUTUS TO POWER, THE FRAMEWORK WAS CREATED FOR IDENTICAL HUTU STRIVINGS IN BURUNDI. NOT SURPRISINGLY, THE TUTSIS HAVE RESISTED, WITH A VIOLENCE (VERGING IN 1972 ON LIMITED GENOCIDE) WHICH HAS MORE THAN MATCHED THE INEFFECTIVE ATTEMPTS AT COUPS D'ETAT BY THE HUTUS. NOT ONLY DO THE TUTSIS WISH TO MAINTAIN THEIR PRIVILEGED POSITION, BUT THEY ARE ALSO FEARFUL THAT THEY WILL BE DECIMATED, ENFEEBLED,

AND PERHAPS DISPERSED AS AN ETHNIC GROUP IF THEY WERE EVER TO BE OUSTED FROM POWER.

THE BATTLE FOCUSED ON ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND SUPREMACY IS THE CONTROLLING FEATURE OF POLITICAL LIFE IN BURUNDI, AND NO ATTACHMENT TO ABSTRACT POLITICAL PRINCIPLES - HUMAN RIGHTS, PLURALISM, OR PARTICIPATORY ACCESS - CAN BEGIN TO INFLUENCE THE COURSE OF TUTSI POLITICAL CONDUCT. ANYONE WHO WISHES TO HAVE ANY IMPACT ON THE EVOLUTION OF EVENTS HERE IN FAVOR OF GREATER JUSTICE AND OPPORTUNITY FOR THE HUTU MASSES MUST TAKE THIS FEROCIOUS ETHNIC RIVALRY AS HIS STARTING POINT.

FORTUNATELY, THERE IS A WING OF THE TUTSI ELITE WHICH SEES AS THE BEST LONG-TERM HOPE FOR THE GROUP'S SURVIVAL THE EFFEC-TUATION OF A RECONCILIATION WITH THE HUTUS. THESE TUTSIS BELIEVE THAT IF LIVING CONDITIONS CAN BE BETTERED FOR THE HUTU PEASANT MASSES, IF EDUCATIONAL AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE MODERNIZED MINORITY OF HUTUS CAN BE FURNISHED IN INCREASING QUANTITY, AND IF THE EMERGING HUTU ELITE CAN BE BROUGHT TO INCREASING PARTICIPA-TION IN THE POLITICAL POWER STRUCTURE. IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO STABILIZE A SYSTEM OF SHARED POWER IN BURUNDI. OTHER, MORE HARD LINE TUTSIS DECRY THIS RELATIVELY OPTIMISTIC APPROACH, AND BOTH BROAD FACTIONS OF TUTSIS ARE REPRESENTED IN THE PRESENT REGIME, WHERE PRESIDENT BAGAZA LEADS THE MODERATE WING.

SINCE ETHNIC-MOTIVATED COMBAT HAS PROVED TO BE THE GREATEST
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FACTOR ASSAULTING HUMAN RIGHTS OF ALL TYPES IN BURUNDI SINCE INDEPENDENCE IN 1962, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE MOST URGENT OBJECTIVE MUST BE THE DESENSITIZATION AND PALLIATION OF THE ETHNIC ISSUE. ALL MOVES BY THE UNITED STATES OR OTHERS TO IMPROVE HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE MUST, THEREFORE, HAVE SOME RELATION TO THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS THAT HAVE NOURISHED THIS DEADLY RIVALRY.

1. RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON. TORTURE IS NOT PART OF POLICE INTERROGATION PRACTICES IN BURUNDI, BUT BRUTALITY FREQUENTLY ACCOMPANIES THE QUESTIONING OF COMMON CRIMINALS,

PARTICULARLY IF THEY HAVE THREATENED VIOLENCE AGAINST THE POLICE OR USED FORCE IN THEIR ALLEGED CRIMES. POLITICAL PRISONERS ARE GENERAL NOT ABUSED AND MAY OR MAY NOT BE TRIED BEFORE THEIR EVENTUAL RELEASE. CUREENTLY, THE REGIME CONSIDERS THAT IT IS HOLDING ONLY 14 POLITICAL PRISONERS, INCLUDING EX-PRESIDENT MICOMBERO (UNDER HOUSE ARREST).

IN PRINCIPLE, ALL PERSONS ARRESTED SHOULD UNDERGO TRIAL, BUT THE INEFFICIENCIES OF THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM AND THE DIRE LACK OF TRAINED PERSONNEL OFTEN RESULT IN VERY INORDINATE DELAYS BEFORE

TRIAL. VERDICTS IN THE PAST HAVE OFTEN BEEN ARBITRARY AND CAPRICIOUS, ESPECIALLY WHEN A WELL PLACED PERSONAGE WAS ACCUSING A HUMBLE PERSON. THE NEW REGIME HAS EXPLICITLY DENOUNCED SUCH PREJUDICED JUSTICE, BUT IT IS NOT RPT NOT KNOWN WHAT DIFFERENCE THIS HAS MADE IN PRACTICE. IN ANY EVENT, WHEN POLITICAL QUESTIONS ARE INVOLCED, THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WILL NOT RPT NOT ALLOW COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE TO THE JUDICIARY IN REGARD TO VERDICTS.

AS OF JUNE ONE, THERE WERE 2,005 PRISONERS IN BURUNDI'S TEN PRINSONS, AGAINST A CAPACITY OF 1,930. BUJUMBURA PRISON WITH A CAPACITY OF 500 HAD 800 DETAINEES; OTHER PRISONS WERE OFTEN UNDERUTILIZED. PRISON CONDITIONS ARE DIRTY AND UNPLEASANT, BUT, AS LONG AS THERE IS NO QUESTION OF THER TRYING TO ESCAPE, CONFIDENTIAL

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PRISONERS ARE GENERALLY LEFT ON THEIR OWN BEHIND THE WALLS, WITH NO ABUSE, WHETHER THEIR INCARCERATION BE PRE-TRIAL OR POST-CONVICTION.

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FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
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INVASION OF THE HOME IS RARE, BUT IT OCCASIONALLY HAPPENS AT DAWN IN POLITICALLY-RELATED CASES.

2. RESPECT FOR CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES. FREEDOM OF RE-KIGION IS GENERALLY RESPECTED IN BURUNDI FOR ALL SECTS. WHEN MISSIONARIES HAVE ENGAGED IN SOCIAL WORK WITH THE MASSES, WHO

ARE INEVITABLY MAINLY HUTU, HOWEVER, THIS HAS ON OCCASION AROUSED REGIME SUSPICIONS AND RESENTMENTS, AND LED TO EXPULSIONS OF FOREIGN CHURCHMEN. EVEN THIS HAS NOT RPT NOT AFFECTED STRICTLY RELIGIOUS WORK.

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT IS QUITE FREE IN BURUNDI, ALTHOUGH THIS HAS LITTLE MEANING FOR A PEASANTRY THAT MUST REMAIN ATTACHED TO ITS FARM PLOTS FOR LIVELIHOOD AND THAT DOES NOT RPT NOT TRAVEL BEYOND THE NEAREST MARKETPLACE. URBAN POPULATION IS ABOUT FOUR PERCENT OF THE TOTAL AND GROWING SLOWLY.

IN THIS OVERWHELMINGLY TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENT, THERE ARE NO HABITS, OR EVEN MEANS, OF FREE THOUGHT, COMMUNICATION, AND ASSEMBLY IN A WESTERN POLITICAL SENSE. INDEED, THERE IS NO REGULARIZED POLITICAL PROCESS, SINCE THE GOVERNMENT IS A MILITARY DICTATORSHIP, WHICH RULES BY DECREE, WITHOUT EVEN NOMINAL POPULAR REFERENDUM PROCEDURES. THE GOVERNMENT OWNS THE SOLE RADIO STATION, AND THERE IS A DAILY NEWS SHEET BUT NO NEWSPAPER. CONFIDENTIAL

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ONLY ONE POLITICAL PARTY - THE GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED UPRONA - IS PERMITTED.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE NEW REGIME IS TRYING TO ENCOURAGE GREATER PARTICIPATION OF ALL CITIZENS IN UPRONA, AND IN ITS RELATED YOUTH, WOMEN'S, AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS; AND THIS PARTICIPATION IS TO INCLUDE THE AIRING OF CIRITICISM AND UNORTHODOX IDEAS AT PARTY MEETINGS. THERE ARE SIGNS THAT THIS IS BEGINNING TO OCCUR. IN ANY EVENT, THERE IS NO SYSTEM OF OPPRESSION AGAINST THOSE WHO SPEAK OUT IN CLASSROOMS OR IN PARTY MEETINGS WITH DIVERGENT OPINION, AND A GOOD DEAL OF UNREPORTED AND UNOFFICIAL DISCUSSION AND ARGUMENT ON PUBLIC ISSUES GOES ON AMONG THE POLITICIZED ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION, MAINLY IN BUJUMBURA. IN SUM, THERE IS NO STRUCTURE FOR REALIZING CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES, BUT THERE IS SOME PLAY PERMITTED WITHIN THE TRADITIONAL SYSTEM AND THE SUPERIMPOSED MILITARY RULE FOR THE PLAY OF POLITICAL DEBATE AND OPINION AMONG THE ELITE AND NEAR-ELITE.

3. POLICIES TO FULFILL ECONOMIC AND HUMAN NEEDS. THE NEW BAGAZA GOVERNMENT IS DEDICATED TO IMPROVING THE LOT OF THE PEASANT MASSES AS PART BOTH OF ITS PROGRAM TO SOOTHE AND REDUCE ETHNIC TENSIONS AND OF ITS REALIZATION THAT WITHOUT ATTENTION TO FOOD SUPPLY, POPULATION PRESSURES COULD WITHIN TEN YEARS OR SO MAKE BURUNDI UNGOVERNABLE. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT GOVERNMENT INTEREST IN INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS OR OTHER ASPECTS OF MODERNIZATION THAT WILL HAVE THEIR PRIMARY IMPACT ON THE URBAN MINORITY OR ELITE ARE BEING FORGOTTEN. HOWEVER, WITHIN THE LIMITS OF ITS ADMITTEDLY AND UNDERSKILLED BUREAUCRACY, SUFFERING FROM INADEQUATE MATERIAL RESOURCES, THE NEEDS OF THE MASSES ARE AT LAST BEING ACKNOWLEDGED.

CORRUPTION IS PART OF THE BURUNDIAN WAY OF LIFE, AS IN IN
MOST POOR COUNTRIES, WHERE TRADITIONAL PRACTICES GIVE SOCIAL
APPROVAL TO GIFT-GIVING IN RETURN FOR FAVORS BY THE HIGH AND
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MIGHTY. THE BAGAZA REGIME IS TRYING TO REDUCE THE SCOPE OF
CORRUPT PRACTICES AND IS PREPARING A TRIAL OF PERHAPS 80 FORMERLY
TOP OFFICIALS AND BUSINESSMEN ON CURRPTION CHARGES. THE PRESIDENT
HIMSELF HAS A REPUTATION FOR SCRUPULOUS HONESTY, THOUGH THIS IS
NOT RPT NOT TRU OF ALL OF HIS MINISTERS. IN ANY CASE, THERE HAS
PROBABLY BEEN A REDUCTION IN THE LAST HALF-YEAR OF TOP-LEVEL
CORRUPTION IN OUTRIGHT STEALING FROM THE TREASURY AND IN PADDING
CONTRACTS FOR GOVERNMENT PURCHASES. EVEN AT ITS WORST UNDER
MICOMBERO, HOWEVER, CURRUPTION PROBABLY DID NOT RPT NOT INVOLVE
MORE THAN 3 TO 5 MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR OUT OF A TOTAL GNP OF
ABOUT 300 MILLION DOLLARS. CORRUPT PRACTICES WILL INEVITABLY
CONTINUE, BUT PERHAPS ON A SMALLER SCALE.

4. GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY ON CIVIL RIGHTS. AS ALREADY NOTED,
ALL OF THE FOREGOING PRACTICES EMANATE FROM GOVERNMENT ACTION OR
TACIT APPROVAL OF TRADITIONAL TUTSI PRACTICES. UNDER BAGAZA,
SINCE NOVEMBER 1, 1976, REGIME STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN MUCH MORE
POSITIVE ON THE DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL, THE RIGHT TO A DECENT
LIFE, FREEDOM TO PARTICIPATE IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, AND GREATER
LIBERTY OF OPINION WITHIN THE UPRONA PARTY. MOST DEROGATIONS OF
HUMAN RIGHTS ARE NOT PUBLICIZED; IF THEY ARE, THEY ARE JUSTIFIED
ON POLITICAL OR SECURITY GROUNDS - THE NEED TO KEEP ORDER IN A
A VOLITILE SOCIETY.

5. OUTSIDE INVESTIGATION. THE MICOMBERO GOVERNMENT WAS VERY
SENSITIVE AND NEGATIVE TO OUTSIDE INVESTIGATION OF THE ETHNIC
SITUATION IN BURUNDI AFTER THE KILLINGS OF 1972-3. THE PRESENT
GOVERNMENT HAS NOT RPT NOT HAD TO FACE THIS ISSUE, BUT IT WOULD
PROBABLY NOT RPT NOT EVEN WISH OUTSIDERS TO ASSESS CRITICALLY
THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITIVE PROGRAM ON ETHNIC RELATIONS AT THIS TIME,
SINCE PUBLIC EXPOSURE AND EVEN WELL-INTENTIONED AND HELPFUL
CRITICISM
TEND TO GO AGAINST THE GRAIN OF TUTSI PRACTICES. IN ANY CASE,
WERE IT NOT RPT NOT FOR THE ETHNIC ISSUE, THERE WOULD BE NO
OUTSIDE INTEREST IN INVESTIGATING BURUNDI'S HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES

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FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

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ANY MORE THAN THERE WOULD BE IN SEVERAL DOZEN OTHER AFRICAN NATIONS WITH SIMILARLY AUTHORITARIAN POLITICAS SYSTEMS.

B. ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

1. IN BURUNDI'S SITUATION, IT IS POINTLESS TO DEFINE OBJECTIVES IN THE TIME FRAME OF THREE, SIX, OR TWELVE MONTHS, BECAUSE THE NOW INTRACTABLE ETHNIC SITUATION WILL BE TREATABLE ONLY IN TERMS OF FIVE, TEN, OR TWENTY YEARS. HUMAN RIGHTS DEPRIVATIONS IN REGARD TO HUMAN INTEGRITY AND TO CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, INSOFAR AS THIS CAN BE DIVORCED FROM THE ETHNIC ISSUE, WILL PROBABLY GRADUALLY IMPROVE AS THE ELITE BECOMES MORE SENSITIZED TO THE IMPORTANT CONCEPTS INVOLVED, AND AS THE REGIME, FEELING ITSELF MORE STABLE, BEGINS TO INTRODUCE ELEMENTS OF POPULAR CONSULTATION AND CONSITUTIONALISM INTO THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE.

CLEARLY, THE MOST IMPORTANT AMERICAN OBJECTIVE MUST BE TO HELP IN AIDING THE PROGRAM OF ETHNIC RECONCILIATION ENUNCIATED BY THE NEW REGIME, SINCE, WITHOUT PROGRESS IN THIS SECTOR, BURUNDI SOCIETY WILL SOME DAY IN ALL PROBABILITY EXPLODE. WHETHER THIS GOAL IS FEASIBLE IS OPEN TO DEBATE, JUST AS NONE OF US CAN NOW BE SURE WHETHER, EVEN WITH A CHANGE OF HEART BY WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS, CONDITIONS OF HARMONY BETWEEN THAT MINORITY AND MAJORITY COULD BE BROUGHT ABOUT. HOWEVER, IT IS AN AIM TOWARD WHOSE

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REALIZATION U.S. POLICY CAN CONTRIBUTE. WE CAN DO THIS BY PROVIDING RESOURCES WHICH UNDERPIN BURUNDI GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS TO AID THE HUTU MASSES, BY PRODDING TUTSI LEADERS TO LIVE UP TO BAGAZA'S PROCLAIMED IDEAS OF ETHNIC COLLABORATION, AND BY GIVING EXAMPLES FROM AMERICAN EXPERIENCE THAT ARE RELEVANT TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS PRIORITIES OF BURUNDIANS. ALL WESTERN DONOR GOVERNMENTS AND AGENCIES SHARE THESE APPROXIMATE VIEWS ON ETHNIC MATTERS AND ON THE NEED TO DIRECT A SIGNIFICANT PART OF THEIR AID TO PROJECTS VALUABLE TO THE MASSES. THESE SAME DONORS, HOWEVER, WOULD NOT RPT NOT JOIN IN AN EFFORT TO INDUCE THE BURUNDI GOVERNMENT TO ADOPT

WESTERN TYPE CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS.

TO IMPLEMENT THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVE, A NUMBER OF STEPS CAN BE SUGGESTED FOR THE U.S. TO ADOPT:

(I) EXPEDITE PREPARATIONS TO LAUNCH USAID PROGRAMS IN BURUNDI, WHERE THE FOCUS IS BEING PUT ON PROJECTS WITH DIRECT IMPACT ON THE RURAL MASSES, WHO ARE OVERWHELMINGLY HUTU.

(II) INCLUDE APPROPRIATE MENTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN ALL MAJOR CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESIDENT BAGAZA AND OTHER BURUNDIAN TOP OFFICIALS, WITH THE PRIMARY FOCUS ON HOW WELL THEY ARE IMPLEMENTING THEIR OWN PROCLAIMED PROGRAMS FOR ETHNIC EQUALITY AND EQUAL DEVELOPMENT FOR ALL.

(III) EXPAND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY (USIS) EFFORTS IN BURUNDI, THROUGH REASSIGNMENT OF A PAO AND THROUGH AN INCREASE OF RESOURCES, TO KEEP BURUNDIANS AWARE OF HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES.

(IV) ENCOURAGE EXCHANGE OF PEOPLE PROGRAMS AND GREATER PERSONAL U.S.-BURUNDIAN CONTACTS THROUGH EXPANDED INTERNATIONAL VISITOR GRANTS, MORE FULBRIGHT PROFESSORS, START OF A PEACE CORPS PROGRAM WHEN POSSIBLE, AND A LARGER, FLEXIBLE SELF-HELP FUND.
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(V) MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH WESTERN DONORS TO ENLIST AS MUCH SUPPORT AS POSSIBLE FROM THEM FOR HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE IN BURUNDI, ESPECIALLY IN THE ETHNIC RELATIONS AREA.

(VI) ENLIST AMERICAN INVESTOR INTEREST IN STUDIES AND EVENTUALLY EXPLOITATION OF BURUNDI'S NICKEL DEPOSITS, SINCE MAJOR INVESTMENT COULD PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR THE MAJOR EXPANSION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY WHICH WILL INEVITABLY OPEN UP MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE HUTU MASSES AND ACCELERATE THE REDUCTIONS OF ETHNIC AND POLITICAL TENSIONS IN THE COUNTRY.

2. THE BURUNDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER HAS PRIVATELY ENDORSED THE THRUST OF THE NEW U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY, ALTHOUGH HE HAS EXPLAINED THAT MUCH ADAPTATION AND MODIFICATION IS NECESSARY IN POOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SUCH AS BURUNDI, WHICH HAVE NO EXPERIENCE WITH "CONFUSING" NOTIONS OF POLITICAL AND VIL FREEDOMS. PRESIDENT BAGAZA IS ALSO CLEARLY SYMPATHETIC IN PRINCIPLE. MOST OF THE SMALL ELITE GROUPS ARE AWARE OF THE U.S. STANCE BUT CONSIDER THAT IT HAS NO DIRECT RELEVANCE TO BURUNDI'S IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS.

3. THE FOREGOING REACTIONS WILL NOT RPT NOT MEAN MUCH IN PRACTICAL TERMS, SINCE EVEN PRO-HUMAN RIGHTS CIRCLES BELIEVE THAT WESTERN PRACTICES HAVE NO EARLY PLACE IN BURUNDI, BUT ARE ONLY

LONG-RANGE GOALS. HOWEVER, U.S. EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN GENERAL DOES HELP TO MAINTAIN THE ALERTNESS OF MANY BURUNDIAN OFFICIALS TO THE NEED TO KEEP UP PRESSURES ON ETHNIC RECONCILIATION ACTIVITIES. IT MAY ALSO BE USEFUL TO THE MODERATE TUTSI LEADERS IN THEIR DEALINGS WITH THE MANY UNRECONSTRUCTED TUTSI ETHNIC EXTREMISTS, WHO HAVE LITTLE HEART FOR MUCH OF BAGAZA'S PROGRAMS.

4. U.S. SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN BURUNDI WILL HAVE NO ADVERSE IMPACT ON OTHER U.S. INTERESTS HERE, BECAUSE THERE ARE NO SUCH ECONOMIC, SECURITY, POLITICAL, OR DIPLOMATIC INTERESTS. AMERICAN CONCERN WITH BURUNDI S ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY HUMANITARIAN, CONFIDENTIAL

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I.E., TO PREVENT FURTHER KILLINGS, TO ENCOURAGE POLITICAL STABILITY, TO ADVANCE BURUNDI'S RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS (ESPECIALLY ZAIRE AND RWANDA), AND TO AID THE POOREST OF THE POOR TO ESCAPE FAMINE AND MISERY. NONETHELESS, HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITIES EVEN HERE MUST BE MODERATE AND SUBTLE IF THEY ARE NOT RPT NOT TO BE SELF-DEFEATING INTERMS OF THE VERY OBJECTIVES WHICH THEY ARE TO SERVE.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: HUMAN RIGHTS, REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 28-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BUJUMB00741
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770230-1140
Format: TEL
From: BUJUMBURA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770611/aaaaajtx.tel
Line Count: 411
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 441c9e73-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Reference: 77 STATE 139160
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2012421
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: COUNTRY EVALUATION PLAN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
TAGS: SHUM, BY
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/441c9e73-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009